RHETORICAL RADICALISM.

About a week ago Mr. Wendell Phillips deliver d's speech in the city of New York on the recent message and preclamation of President Lincoln Like all that fells from the lips of this speaker, his last discourse is marked by fluency of invective and prodigality of insulting disparagement directed against the President and his Cabinet. At a time when even Mr. Lincoln's political opponents have bidden a trace to the fi-reeness of recent party dissensions, the Massachusetts orator is only the more copious in his accusations and the more vehement in his objurgations. We quote, f r the information of our readers, the principal points of Mr. Phillips's objection to the President's p an of " reconstruction :"

"What was the first element of reconstruction which Mr. Lincoln incorporated into his proclamation? He placed his own acts and all the acts of Congress at the feet of the Supreme Court. The South was to swear to support the acts of the Government in his hands and bands of Congress so far as the Supreme Court holds them to be valid. The speaker would not say that the President could have said any thing else; he was only telling what the President did say. What did the procla mation of January 1, 1863, mean? Some members of the Cabinet said that it means that any negro we can get held of 1s tree. Mr. Chase said that any negro down to the Gulf that ever saw the flag is free. Republicans in the State of Mas achisetts said that there was no law in itit was not worth the waste paper on which it was written. What did Mr. Lincoln say! He said, as he ought to say, nothing. He could say nothing. When the Governor of the State mgus an act he could not tell its meaning; he must go the court to get it construed; and no one knew the meaning of that proclamation until the Supreme Court had decided it. The proclamation of 1863 was to blieved through the secession heart of a man whose body was in Baltimore and wtose soul was in Richmond It was to pass the ordeal of the beach of Judges who made the Dred Scott decision, and announced that a negro has no rights that a white man is bound to respect. was to pass the ordeal of a bench of Judges the majority of whom come o t of the wickedness of Buchanai and Polk and Franklin Pierce—the only two of whom who refused to concur in the Dred Scott decision being no lorger in the court. God help the negro who depended on Roger B. Taney for his liberty. The Supreme Court was the point where our democratic system touchest nearest to de-poti-m. That was the meaning of the Supreme Court d it was the only hope that Abraham Lincoln's projec he dont of the vandity of the acts of Congress and of the proc auntions of September and of last Jaquary. Mr Lin coin timeelf was a tenant at will, and would probably go As a quid pro quo of this war the speaker wanted something more than the Judges of the Supreme Court, the mest of them secessionists from the top of their heads to the soles of their feet, would be likely to give. If they had reformed and repeated and got any better he would be glad to know it, but he judged them by It will be seen that Mr. Phillips here complains

of the President's "plan" on the ground that "it leaves the negro in the hands of the Supreme Court, so far as the Federal power is concerned." In commenting on this objection, the New York Times pertinently asks: "We should like to know Congress, "in order that the principles of justice, where Mr Philips would have him left. White now so disregarded and trodden under foot, may ' men of all classes and grades, from the President edown to the humblest citizen, are 'left in the 'hands of the Supreme Ceurt.' That is for them their reclamation by those who have been called to the highest tribunal in the land. Why should suffer from their violation; and, above all, that, the negro claim or expect any other?" And we especially in Catholic countries, the real pre-emiimagine that most readers will concur with the nence which naturally belongs to the Cath.lie re-Times when in view of such captious criticism it ligion, as being the only true religion, may be proceeds to add:

" The fact is, Mr. Phillips, and the fanatics who follow his lead, have become complete mon-maniacs on the sub-j ct of the negro. They have broaded so long over his wrongs that they cannot conceive that any bedy class any rights. They claim for negroes virtues, immunities, privileges, and rights which they would never dream of claiming for whites They profess to support the Consti-tution until it stands in the way of their schemes for negro supremacy; then they abandon the Constitution and stand by the negro. Their test of patriotism is devotion to the negro. They are for preserving the Union, if it will help the negroes: if not, they are for destroying it. They are is r prosecuting the war because it will help negroes; the moment they find or landy it will not, they are for peace. Mr. Philips would ininitely prefer dis-union with the abelition of sisvery to the Union without it; and so would the great body of those who accept him as their political guide

"It is becoming fashionable in some quarters to speak of this as 'accordi ional loyalty' The men in the Southern Since who are for ab lishing slavery are called by some of our l-ading political journals unconditional loy a lata, while Union mea, like Governor Bramlette, of Kon a late. White condition to the second of it, are sweepingly and re-more least denounced as a mi-scessionists. No hing can ise or unjust. The question of abulition has nothing whatever to do with the question of loyalty. A pro-slavery man may be I yal, while many anti-slavery men are certainly and conspicuously disloyal. That man is by I who is for successing the Government, crushing the receiving, and preserving the Union, without regard to slavery. It slavery stands in the way of this result he is for destroying it; if it gets out of the way, he will not abandon the Union for the sake of destriying slavery. This is the only the old intinction that can be drawn.

"It is quite time that Mr. Phillips and every body else.

North and S with, whatever may be their opinions on the subject of slavery, should understand that the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, and that by its provi wons the Supreme Court is the highest indicial tribunal of the nation. All laws passed by Congress and all procla-mations raued by the President must abide by its judg-Every couzen, every inhabitant, black or while must hald his rights subject to its decisions. And there is nothing in his nature, position, or relations to the Go veryment which can make the negro an exception to this

The second objection which Mr. Phillips urges against the President's plan of amnesty is drawn from the fact that it proposes to suspend the confiscation set. On this point the speaker says:

"The second objection to Mr. Lincoln's proclamation is, that he remarked the confiscation act. He says the slaveholders, excert about seven hundred of them, may yetern to their estates, and the States may come back, by a role of one-len h, to the Union. What does that mean? Why, land dictates Government. If the people own the land, it as democracy; if a few men own it, it is an oli-Every Massachusetts farmer owns his bouse, and Jefferson Davis, muit piled by a million, could not make it any thing but a democracy. Confisc to the land of the South and put it into the hands of the negroes and while men who lought for it, and you may go to sleep with your parchiments. We have got the Union down there by a catoral root that you cannot pull up. Plant a thousand negro farmers and a bundred thou and of white soldiers by their side, and the South will be re-

"People ray Mr. Lincoln is a very prudent man. But pruder ce should not be exercised at other people's ex-pense. The man who proposes to give up the fruits of this war for such a shom as that, either does not understand his epoch, or is not equal to it. We must d mand err ment substantial, practical commen-sense pret ction for the men whem the Government has freed. This nation has robbed 4,000,000 of men and their an centors is reventy years. Thus our nation owes to the neg o not merely freedom—it owes to bim land, and owes him ed cation. It is a debt which will diagrace us before the prople if we do not pay it. It is the first longing of His instincts are better than our laws. He

knows what land means. "The confincation act is the jewel of Congressional policy Launch us on natural laws or save us by the Con-Mr. Lincoln dies neither-neither gives root nor bar ier. The speaker protested against it in advance If that was the level of the President's mind, he could not be trusted. That proclamation frees the slave and ignores the tegro. It embrolis our future; it cripples our re-sources; it prolongs the war thirty years. How shall we pay the interest on \$3 000,000 000 unless that half of the Union is reconstructed to industry? Give us the negro on his own soil, and we can treble the cotton crop. being done at Port Koyai. Let the whole South ben Port

It is not necessary to offer any criticism on the theory of ethics and public economy thus propoueded in behalf of the freedmen. . Its eminently practical nature is not the least of its recommendations! "Let the whole South," says the speaker, "be a Port Royal." And, sure enough, why not? If Mr. Phillips knews of any

"plan" for bringing about this desiderated consummation, why does he not suggest it to the Pre ideat, instead of railing at him in the savory dialect of feminine fishmongers? For, after all the abuse so freely poured upon the President, his Cabinet, and his "plan," it does not appear that Mr. Phillips has any thing to propose except vague and declamatory adjurations which belong more properly to the Cave of Ablus than to any province where reason or wisdom has a name and

THE EUROPEAN CONGRESS.

From the intimations contained in our Paris Correspondence, as also from other sources, the reader has learned of the different reception given by the different Governments of Europe to the invitation of the Emperor of the French in the matter of the Congress proposed to be held for the purpose of reconciling "the rights of sovereigns with the aspirations of the peoples."

We have already given the text of the despatch in which Earl Russell, on the part of the British Government, declined to accept the proposition in question without having previously received a distinet assurance of the points to be discussed and adjusted by such Congress. It is known that the Emperor of Russia has likewise signified the opinion that it is indispensable to the success of the contemplated negotiations that the Emperor of the French should " define with precision the questions which are to be made the object of a common agreement, and the basis upon which that common agreement is to be brought about."

The Emperor of Austria holds a similar language when in his reply he says: " Before associating myself in the work your Majesty desires to attempt, I deem it indispensable to be enlightened on certain preliminary points. I would insist, in a word, on knowing, with some precision, the bases and programme of the deliberations of the Congress which it is proposed to open."

The King of Prussia, while giving in his adherence to the Imperial proposal, expresses the opinion that the treaties of 1815, notwithstanding the modifications they have undergone, "still form the foundation on which the political edifice of Europe reposes to-day." Nor does he satisfy himself with a pure and simple acceptance of the Congress, but indicates that it will remain for the Ministers of the associated Powers "to elucidate by their discussions, and, with the sanction of their sovereigns, to prepare the propositions which shall be submitted to the Congress.'

The Pope pledges all his moral support to the be re-established in the interest of society; that violated rights may be admitted preliminary to established anew." To this his Holiness adds:

" Your Majesty cannot hesitate to believe that the Vicar his sublime representation or the conviction he entertains that in the Catholic faith, united to its practice, is found the sole means adapted to provide the provide the sole means adapted to provide the to sustain with the greatest vigor the rights of our most august religion, which is one, boly, catholic, apostolic, and

That is, the Pope stipulates as a sine qua non of his adhesion to the Congress that it shall not interfere with his temporal rule over any portion of the Italian States, but shall rather reinstate him in his authority over the previnces of which he has been deprived by Victor Emanuel.

In order to leave no room for doubt on these points, the Pope says in another part of his letter : " We give our applause to the cause of material progress, and we desire besides that the peoples should be in a condition to enjoy their property peaceably, as well because of the advantage they derive from it as of the occu-pation they find in it. We could not say as much in case we should be seriously asked to satisfy certain asp rations of some portions of these peoples, aspirations which cannot be reconciled with the principles above announced

In spite of these hesitations, M. FRED. GAIL-LARDET, the intelligent Paris correspondent of the New York Courrier des Etats-Unis, states in his letter under date of the 11th instant that the Emperor of the French has not entirely renounced the hope of seeing the proposed Congress assumble at an early day. And the writer adds, after a review of the political situation, that "it has only two exits, either the arbitrament of a Congress or war. There being little room to hope for the first, the second is greatly to be feared."

PASSPORT SYSTEM FOR AMERICAN SHIPS.

In consequence of the piratical seizure of the Chesapeaks, and the liability of other vessels leaving our por's to similar enterprises, instructions have been received by the United States Marshal at New York from the Secre tary of State, directing him not to allow any American vessel to leave New York without a permit signed by him certifying that the parties on board had passed under his inspection and were properly vouched for. At the same time Rear Admiral Paulding received instructions from the Navy Department to station a vessel off the bar at | massacre occurred has remained wrapt in mystery until Sandy Hook and another at Throng's Neck, with orders | the present time. It was only known that their mutilated to detain every outward bound American vessel not having a pass duly signed by the United States Marshal certifying that her passengers and crew had been examined by his officers and that she was permitted to depart on her voyage. In obedience to these instructions A imiral Pau'ding at once dispatched a vessel to Sandy Hook, and the Peterhoff, recently captured as a prize, but now fitted up by the Government as a gunbout, to Throgg' Neck. The order of the Government will thus be rigorously enforced.

It is understood also that the United States Marshal is instructed to have a sufficient detective force on board every American vees-1, with authority to search for arcos and contraband correspondence, and will arrest and commit to Fort Warren any person in whose possession arms and such correspondence are found. He has authority to call upon Major Gen. Dix commanding Department of the East, for any aid or assistance he may require to carry ut his instructions.

THE RATIO OF MILITARY EXEMPTIONS Although from various causes many more exemptions were granted after the late draft toan should have been, the figures of the Provest Marshal General's report dispose forever of the notion that the proportion of persons in the United States disqualified for military service is larger than in other countries. Had the enrollment been corrected before the draft, so as to exclude aliens, the proportion of exemptions would have been much less The ratio of rejection in the United States, Frances, and Great Britain is shown in the following table.

Ratio rejected per 100. United States in 1863...... 319 1 France, from 1831 to 1843..... 324 4

Great Britain in 1861 451

Great Britain in 1860

IMPORTANT REBEL DISCLOSURES.

The report of Mr. MALLORY, the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, contains full confirmation of the statement heretofore published concerning the plot to release the rebel prisoners on Jahuson's Island. Mr. Mallory reports as follows:

" During the months of July and August I sent twenty seven commissioned officers and forty trustworthy petry officers to the British Provinces, with orders to organize an expedition and co-operate with army officers in an attempt to release the Confederate prisoners confined or Johnson's Island in Lake Eric. From time to time earned that the arrangements made were such as to insurthe most complete success. A large amount of money had been expended, and just as our gallant naval officers were gave information to the enemy, and thus prevented x-cution of one of the best planned enterprises of the

In relation to the building of iron-clad vessels in Europe for the Confederates, the Secretary says that early in the present year his agents contracted for eight vessels of that class, five of which were to be built in England and three in France. He alludes to the seizure of the vessels built n the Mersey, and remarks that "another and larger vessel has since been completed, but it is doubtful if she will e allowed to leave the shores of England, although it is believed the precautions taken are sufficient to exempt her from the fate of her consorts." The vessels being conatructed in France have been subject to so many official risitations that Mr. Mallory forwarded instructions to cease perations upon them for the present.

"In this connection," says the Secretary, "it is proper for me to state that the great revulsion in popular senti-ment, both in England and France, towards the Confedrate Government, has rendered our efforts to obtain supplies from those countries almost abortive. In view of a possible contingencies, I have instructed the agents of this Department to wait a more favorable opportunity for carrying out the instructions previously forwarded. By the ast courier I sent instructions that will shortly be made apparent to our enemies nearer bome.

The services of Captain Semmes, in the Alabama, are spoken of with high approbation:

"During the year he has captured upwards of ninety essels, seventy of whom he destroyed, the others being ither bonded or released. One of the greatest drawbacks bis officer reports having experienced is the difficulty he ow has in procuring full supplies of cost. The provincial english au horities have hitherto afferded him every facility, but recently they have interpreted their neutrality have so stringently that our war vessels and privateers are much embarrassed in obtaining sukable supplies."

THE PIRACY OF THE CHESAPEAKE.

The Halifax Citizen says that Lieut. Braine was not the eal commander of the Chesspeake. At Grand Manan. Capt. Vernon Locke, of Regged Islands, who has been for ome time in the Confederate service, joined the ship, and ssumed the command. Braine left the ship either at Shelburne or La Have, and did not return on board. He was in Halifax one or two nights of last week. On the 16th a warrant was issued for his apprehension, charging him with the crime of piracy and murder, and officers were in pursuit of him. The Citizen says:

" In the early part of the week the Chesapeake entered the La Have, and was admitted to entry by the Collecte f Luneaburg, under the name of the Confederate war steamer Retribution, the commander, Lieut. Braine, pro ducing for examination his own commission and those of several of her officers; and they were further permitted to land and dispose of certain goods, for the purpose as repre-sented, of obtaining necessary supplies. But as soon as t had been ascertained that the steamer was the Chesa brake, the Collector deemed it his duty to forbid the land of any more of the cargo until he should be properly advised in the rubject. A portion of the Chesapeake's deck load was sold at Shelburne and La Have at the rate of a barrel of sugar for a chaldron of coal, and other things in propertion.

The "Citizen" characterizes the capture of the Chesapeake as "sheer piracy," and puts the case to the secessionists who compliment and befriend the pirates in the following strong light:

"Suppose that on board the Arabia, which sailed from Halifax yeareday, two thirds of the passengers were members of the Fenian Brotherhood. Suppose that they, armed to the teeth, should suddenly ourpris unsuspecting officers of the ship, and, every circumstance of confusion in an unarmed crew assisting this combishould become their prey, and superior arms, the steamer should become their prey, and to exact and prisoners to be got rid of in some Northern perts. Where is the man among us who would besitate to denounce such a capture atrocious piracy? Who would not feel satisfied to hear of a British frigate swiftly pursuing the pirates and bringing back the Arabia to Cunerd's wharf, with the ring readers of the plot swinging at the yard-arm? An yet such allows could justify their course as fully as the captors

The United States steamer Ella and Annie returned to Boston on Tuesday from her successful cruise in pursuit | And yet, after all, and in spite of all, nearly fifty thousand of the steamer Chesapeake. The Ella and Annie left Charles own navy yard on the 10th instant in command of Volunteer Lieutenant Commanding John F. Nichols, with seventy-five efficers and men on board. She had for an armament two 12-pound howitzers and two 24 pound howitzers. On arriving at Eastport, on the 12 h instant, they ertained that the pirates were a-Margaret's Bay, Nova Scotia, twenty five miles from Halifax. They at once marted for that place, but on arrival they were prevented by heavy winds from entering. Capt. Nichols then went into Halifax and coaled. From information received there he was induced to vivit La Have river, and thence went to Cupenburg, where they learned that the Chesapeake was n Mud Cove, Sambro Harbor. Arrived off Mud Cove at o'clock in the morning; at daybreak perceived the Chesamer can flag was then run up on the Chesapeake with he Union down. They can alongside of her and found three men on board, two of whom had been prisoners on ourd. One was the first engineer, and the other a fire man. Only one of the pirates was found on board. A rew was detailed to take possession of the recaptured vessel, and Capt. Nichols directed his course for Boston, wi h the Chesapeske in tow. He soon afterwards spoke the gunboat Dacotah, and was ordered by Capt. Clary to his prize to Halifax, and to leave ber and his prisoner to the disposition of the British authorities. On reaching Halifax the Chesspeake was de livered up, according to the order; but on taking the prisoner ashore for the purpos of giving him into the custody of the Provincial Marshall he escaped from the officer and jumped into a boat, in which were two men, who pulled off with him; the crowd on the wharf interfering to prevent his re-arrest. The Ella and Annie sailed on Saturday for the United States in company with the United States steamers Dacotah, Acacia, and Cornubia, leaving the Nisgara at Halifax.

MASSACRE BY INDIANS.

Our readers remember the horrible massacre of a min ing party on the Missouri last August, not one being left to tell the mournful tale. Who they were and how the bodies lay bleaching on the banks of a distant river, and but for a chance party that followed in their wake the par ticulars of the affair would have still remained unknown.

John H. Carter, John S. Bacus, R. Schouler, and bro ther, all of Wapello county, Iowa, have just reached this city from Idaho. They have been mining at Bannock city there are two Bannock cities in Idaho,) on the Snake iver, on the west slope of the Rocky Mountains, three hundred and fifty miles north of Salt Lake and the same instance pertheast of Walls Walls. On the 18th of June ne week after the massacred party started, they left for home, intending to come down the Missouri They were elayed a month upon reaching the river by the want of a Mackinaw boat, after procuring which they proceeded to Fort Barthold. Here they first learned of the massacre. which took place on the 3d of August, one hundred miles

below the fort, at the mouth of Heart river. They found one of the men who originally started with the unfortunate murdered miners at the fort, he having had a presentiment of danger and remained behind. From am a list of the names of the unfortunate men was obtaford. The entire party consisted of eighteen men, one woman, and three children.
From Indians and half-breeds our informants obtained

the particulars of this borrible affair. The miners, anticipating trouble, were well armed, and in addition to small arms had a small cannon. At the naouth of Heart river a party of Yauktonnais Sioux came along the bank and beckened them to come to the shore. They responded by firing the cannon three times, the Incians returning the fire vigorously. The continuous fire

of the cannon caused the boat to spring a leak, and but for that unfortunate circumstance they might have escapd The Indians were driven back from the shore, but enewed the attack, and during the second fight the boat raked so badly that it suck in shallow water. They were then overpowered and murdered.

The Indians acknowledged that the miners fought despetately, and admit that they killed thirty-six and wound-

d thirty-five. The unfortunate victims had between eigh teen and twenty thousand dollars with them in gold dust and money, which fell into the hands of the Indiana, who are using it in making large purchases of ammunition

COMUNMICATION.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE AND PROCLA-MATION.

"And I do further proclaim, declare, and make known, that whenever in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisians, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina, a number of persons, not less than one-tenth the number of the votes cast in such State at the Presidential election of the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty, each sovereignty which they abdicated by their rebellion, to the having taken the oath aforesaid, and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so called act of secession, and excluding a't others, shall re-establish a by submission to any test not recognised by the Consti-State Government which shall be republican, and in no- tution and the laws as a qualification for the exercise of wise contravening said oath, such shall be recognised as the true Government of the State, and the State shall receive thereunder the benefits of the constitutional provision which declares that 'the United States shall government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the Legislature, or the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against

markable words, "and excluding all others." The President invites the people of the several States named, or such part of them as, "having heretofore engaged in said ebellion," now desire to resume their allegiance to the United States," &c., not to a restoration of their several the power of the General Government against the remain State Governments, which he says have been subverted. not to a return of the States, with their loyal governments restored to their former position within the Union, but to " reconstruction" of their respective State governments and a "reconstruction" of the Union itself. This word 'reconstruction" was formerly only heard from the mouths of traitors who sought therewith to lure a confiding people onward to the commencement of the demolition of the fair fabric of the Union which our fathers built, with a view, they said, to "reconstruction." The deed done, as these foolish politicians conceived, they soon gave out that the idea of reconstruction could never be entertained. The word had been repudated from the first by the Administration and the friends of the Government, as implying that the Union had been destroyed. And, if destroyed, it must be by an authority having the prer gative to decree its dissolution, or else by a revolutionary power sufficient to overthrow the authority of the Union by force of arms. The denial of the former hypothesis lies at the foundation of the political faith of all true Unionists of the country; and to fall upon the latter would be to ignore the facts of history which induced the President to proclaim, about the time of the issuance of this proclamation, a general thanksgiving by all the loyal prople of the land.

But if the destruction of the Union is to be thus re ognised and its "reconstruction" set about, who are to rebuild the fabric? It would not be discourteous or unfair to infer that the President himself assumes the position of master-builder, and his proclamations concerning slaves and the acts of Congress relating to slavery are to be at the foundation; but who are to be the workmen whose hands shall rear the superstructure? What men are these who are called upon, to the exclusion of all others, to come up to the help of the President in the reconstruction of the Governments of Tennessee and North Carol na, of Arkaneas and Texas, and of the Union

When Tennessee, for example, was overrun, impressed

and betrayed into the arms of the rebellion, there remain-

ed fifty thousand loyal men who refused to bow the knee

to Baal. A disloyal Governor and Legislature betrayed our people, organized and armed the rebellious, and those who could be impressed by moral force, or decoyed by false representations, into their service. The leaders and the rabble established vigilance committees, stirred up mobs, and inaugurated a reign of terror in the State. Thousands of the loyal were driven or fled the State before the day of trial came Among these the writer calls to mind a talented, honored, and highly radical gentle and two sons worthy of their sire-all of whom now or cupy positions near the Government. Tens of thousands were deterred from voting by the fear of immediate violence, personal insult, and future persecution. Tickets even in a large part of the States could not be circulated or placed at the polls, except those for "separation." votes were cast-more than one-third of the number cast in the Presidential election of 1860-for "no separation." And now these fifty thousand loyal men, unless they will come forward with the rebels, and take and subscribe the President's test oath, are by the terms of his proclamation disfranchised in the "reconstruction" which the President proposes. The Governor of Tennessee, (at that time.) Isham G. Harris, unless he bas taken some position or committed some act of which I have not been informed, is eligible to citizenship in the State to be constructed. The disloyal majority in the secession Legislature of Tennessee, as we call it, so many of them as have not been favored with or accepted certain positions in the rebel service, are eligible to citizenship-and this would embrace a number of them sufficiently large to constitute a mejority of that Legislature. But John Netherland, always loyal and true, who was beaten for the Governorship of Tennessee by Harris-John Netherland, firm and true to the Union as the mountains of his East Tennessee home-this gray-haired patriot is "excluded," with "all others," unless he will take and subscribe the test-oath required. And there were a few men in the secession Legielature, such as East, and Trimble, and Williams, and excluded from participation in the reorganization contem-Wisener, and a few others, who would not disregard the plated. sanctity of their oath to "support the Constitution of the United States and of the State of Tennessee," but voted against treason, and have remained faithful—these, too. oath. All the members of that Legislature had voluntaril; sworn to support the Con titution of the United States when they were qualified as custodians of the public weal; but when the time of trial came, with the honorable exceptions referred to, their solemn obligation was found insufficient to bind them. Yet it is proposed by the President that these, and men like them, who have co-operated with them in the work of destruction which has desolated the land and destroyed our liberties, if a certain number as a lawful right of the Chief Magistrale to require this enough to cast their votes, that these men shall be entrusted with the work of "reconstructing" the State Government they destroyed, to the exclusion of all others who will not, with them, take the rebel's oath of pardon. And there are Brownlow, the fearless, and his fearless sons, and Temple, and Baxter, and Trigg, and Fleming, and a and bled in their country's armies-these, too, are excluded, as all others, unless they will submit to the test, And there are Campbell, and Gordon, and the Stokeses, and the Bricos, and Etheridge, and Rogers, and Caldwell, and to share the honors of the Government with these rethe Hawkinses-but the time would fail me to name a tenth of the public men who have remained true and loval on record as not ashamed to be classed with those whose in this State. These, with the fifty thousand men who erimes have deprived them of their franchice and of their voted for the Union in the dark and trying days of June, rights of property, and made them the subjects of Exefrom the exercise of the right of suffrage in the rectors. Reform" we cannot participate in the reorganization of tion, or, as the President fitly calls it, reconstruction of our State Governments. "All others are excluded." We I have been amazed in contemplation of the blindness or

and treason into the rebellion, or members of rebel conventions which did the same. Nor do these exceptions include those who mobbed, whipped, robbed, and murdered Union men for their levalty to the Government. All these characters, not partaking also of the character of those excepted, may come forward and take the outh prescribed. and keeping it a little while shall not only save their lives, liberty, and property, but shall be re-enfranchised with that exclusion of all others, who, though they may have been ever leyal through much suffering, will not now consent to hold their sovereignty at the will of the Chief Magistrate the freeman's elective franchise.

It is true, that if the loyal men of Tennessee and other

'Seceded States' shall find means and opportunity, in advance of the organization contemplated, to reorganize guaranty to every State in the Union a republican form of their State Governments, the President is at liberty by the terms of his proclamation to reorganize such Govern ment, to the exclusion, of course, of any subsequent organization-supposing such recognition necessary. But if in Tennessee 14,600 men, qualified voters by our former The above is an entire clause, verbatim, of the late election laws-be they all rebels or a mixed party-shall proclamation of the President, only emphasizing these re- take the cath prescribed, and organize, in anticipation of any other organization, a State Government, and adopt a State Constitution consistent with said oath, and republi can in form, the President binds himself to recognise the same, and to protect such pretension of a Government by ing 130,000 voters of the State, should they not acquiesce (I speak in round numbers and from memory in reference to the Presidential vote of 1860) Should these seek to restore the authority of the Constitution of Tennessee as it is-nay, though this nine-tenths of the population of Tennessee should embrace the fifty or seventy-five thousand real loyal men of the State, and though they should so amend the Constitution of the State as to sholish als very, if the organization of the 14,600 shall in advance have secured its recognition, the P esident binds him self to bring the nine-tenths who decline his test oath into subjection to the one-tenth, and to use the sword of the nation (if called on) to that end !

> I raise no question of the legal or moral right of the Presi dent to make terms with rebels, in the extension to them o the amnesty which pertains to his prerogative. No doubt many rebels, and not a few of the baser sort, will make hacte to accept the terms proposed. It may not require a ong time to swear in 14,600 such persons in Tennessee qualified voters by the former election laws of the State qual to one-tenth of all the votes cast for President in 1860. It is not so probable that the loyal men of Tennessee will nake a rush upon the officers which may be appointed to receive this test. Some loyal men may indeed take the prescribed oath, but if not one such should comply, then these 14,600 regenerated rebels are empowered to organize State Government, excluding from participation in such organization "all others" This oath shall be indeed a very atonement. By and with it, if all may not be saved. yet surely many may be who are as wicked as the worst but without it none may be saved by or for his own righteousness. What promise and prospect is this, oh Union men of the South, which is opened up by the Chief Magistrate with whom we have stood, and whom we have sustained, through evil and good report? "They shall come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south, and shall sit down"-with whom shall I say ?--in the kingdom" which shall bewhile "the children of the kingdom shall be cast out. We have kept the commandments and ordinances blame. es. We have observed the ancient covenant. We have not bowed the knee to Basl. We have left father and mother, and wife and children, and houses and lands for our Government's sake. But "by the deeds of the law

shall no flesh be justified." Though the temptation is great, I am not, however, dieosed to treat this grave subject with ridicule or sarcasm. Has the natural right of the people's sovereignty disappeared? Can the President, by a promismation, crease a overeignty, to be constituted, even in its entirety, of the sand severeign citizens of Tennessee, and many ten thouands in other States? Or has this been an oversight of the President? We look in vain in his proclamation or accompanying message for any recognition or mention of the loyal men of the South. It is surely not found in the following passage of the last named document: " There must be a test by which to separate the opposing elements, so as to build only from the sound; and that test is a sufficiently liberal one which accepts as sound whoever will make a sworn recautation of his former un soundness." Or in this: "For these and other reasons it is thought best that support of these measures shall be included in the oath; and it is believed the Executive may lawfully claim it in return for pardon and restora tion of forfeited rights, which he has the clear constitu tional power to withhold altogether, or grant upon terms which he shall doom wisest for the public interest." It s manifest, from a careful consideration of these passages and their context, that the President only tenders his test outh of soundness to those who have need to recant " their ormer unsoundness;" and that it is only "believed that the Executive may lawfully claim it in return for pardon and reatoration of forfeited rights." But it is equally manifest, from the clause of his proclamation quoted at the head of these comments, that "all others" who have not taken this oath, and kept it long enough to vote, are

In what category, then, do the Union men of the South stand in the proposed arrangement? It is most manifest that the President intends to ignere their loyalty altoare excluded, unless they will take the prescribed test- gether, or else he intends, by a quasi recognition of a dissolution of the Union and the dogma of complete State sovereignty, to impute "unsoundness" to those who have at all times been loyal to the Constitution, the Government, the Union. One thing at least is clear, that the President tenders the oath prescribed to him who may take it as a condition of Executive elemency; and requires of him this test, and so receives it, as a recentation of the former unsoundness of a repentant rebel. He claims it of them will take and subscribe on oath, and keep it long condition of pardon, and as a consideration for "the restoration of forfeited rights, which he has the clear constitutional power to withhell altogether." Then he who takes the oath prescribed takes it as a rebel who prays forgiveness-as one who by his treason has forfeited his rights, which the Executive may withhold altogether, "or grant upon terms." Otherwise the President, in his host of noble-East Tennesseans, who have languished in commentary upon and apology for the plan of his proclaprisons, and have been hunted in the mountains, and fought mation, claims no lawful right to exact the oath. Will the loyal men of the South, then, with these views of the President before them, be the first to go forward and take a test oath prepared for rebels, in order that they may aspire deemed sinners? If we take the oath, we place ourselves 1861, are required to take a certain cath or be excluded cutive elemency. Unless we can enter this "House of are not "qualified."

The loyal men of the Slaveholding States are an hon want of candor with which the press of the country has orable body of men-proud, and sensitive of the honor of treated this subject. The terms which the President has their loyalty and their good faith toward their fellow. set forth have been misrepresented and misconstrued in a citizens of the North and of the South, of the East and of m oner and to an extent which I have never seen equalled. the West, especially as concerning the covenant which The amnesty offered is very liberal in its application, to our fathers made with their fathers, and which we ourwhich I make no objection. I have no word to utter selves have ratified with them in our every act of Govern against mercy, not even if it extended to all. The only ment. We have not broken the covenant; we have not characters excepted are "civil or diplomatic officers or offended against the laws; we have borne true faith and agents of the so-called Confederate Government; all who allegiance to the Government of the United States even have left judicial stations under the United States to aid | while it failed to extend over us that protection which it the rebellion;" officers in the rebel army above the rank of was our right to claim. We have no pardon to ask; no colorel, and in the rebel navy above that of lieutenant; all crimes to explate; no "recantation of former nescund who left seats in Congress or resigned commissions in the ness" to offer; we have forfeited none of our rights. We Meagher's resignation, and he has been ordered to report United States army and afterwards aided the rebellion, received not our sovereignty at the hands of kings of

and those who have mistreated colored prisoners of war. | earthly authorities, but as the gift of God. The Union These are the only exceptions; and these do not include men of Tennessee and of the South re ever ready to colonels in the rebel army or officers of lower rank, lieu- swear "to support, protect, and defeed the Constitution tenants or officers of lower rank in the rebel navy, Govern- of the United States, and the union of all he States there ore or legislators which betrayed their States by perjury under," and to faithfully abide by and support all acts of Congress and of the President, and all in lawful authority, passed and done under the provisions thereof, whether it be in reference to African slavery or other matter. On the occasion of the assembling of the people to reorganize the administration of their State Government, made vacant by the ac's of rebels, such an oath might, with color of propriety, be required as a test of character in all cases where the legalty of the voter may be questioned or quer tionable. But the loyal men of the South will not stand upon the order of their taking it; but upon all occasion sesson and out of season, whenever and wherever called on, they are willing to stand this test-as a test of character-an evidence of what they are-not as a recautation of former unsoundness. But the oath which the Presicent prescribes, he virtually admits in his argument, bemay not lawfully require of the citizen, save as a conditi-

of pardon and of the restoration of forfeited rights. Do the President and the loyal men of the nation owe nothing to the Union men of the Slaveholding States? Suppose the fifteen Slaveholding States, or even the ten States named in the President's proclamation, with the dieloyal portion of Virginia, bad indeed been a unit for rebellion and dissolution, is it not reasonable to suppose that the effort to restore the authority of the Government would have failed? Has the task been so easy as it is? The Union men of the South called for the protection of the Government, and they promised it assistance and co operation in the suppression of the rebellion; and they have kept their promise with effect. Had their weight been thrown into the other scale there is little reason to suppose that the President would now be in a position to offer terms of generous pardon to rebels. To abandon the measures directed to the liberation of slaves, the President ages "would be not only to relinquish a lever of power, but would also be a cruel and assounding board of faith." May we not venture in meckness to remind the

Chief Magistrack charles byal men of the Souther Lave been to be a glever of power, which in the future would prove much more a radiable in the restoration of the author rity of the Government than wha aworn allegiance recanters of former unsoundness; and that to them faith is also plighted in such a manner as deman is his most

distinguished consideration?"

In conclusion the writer would say for himself that it is not a care for the institution of slavery which has stirred him up to enter this his humble protest against the plan of the President. For years before this rebellion broke out he has believed and said that the domineering power of slavery propagandism must be met and broken own, or it would break down the liberties of the nation The slave propaganda has forced the issae upon the country, and will continue to force it until the astitution shall be destroyed. This is a matter of opinion. The Border States, at least, including Tennessee, will find to their interest to dispense with an institution which is unprofitable, and lies as an ir cubus upon the bosom of their brosperity. Perhaps the Gulf States, if left to themselves would retain the institution for a time; but the danger to the national integrity and peace from them, unsupported by the Border States, would be small indeed. Neither will the loyal men of the South regard this question with an eye single to their mere personal interests. Their course of action during the trying ordeal to which their political faith has been subjected is a " test of soundness" more reliable than any thousands of "sworn recentations of former unsoundness" that they are true to the interests of the public peace and welfare. We cannot have liberty for white or black without peace; and perhaps we cannot have peace secured until this question of slavery is settled. I speak of the permanence of peace. We are willing to consider this question—as sovereigns and not as subjects. Disarm the rebellion and remove the intimidation of the Government arms, except as a terror to evil doers, and I have confidence in the loyal people of the South, and those who return without price to their loyalty, that they will dispose of the question of slavery wisely and well. Does the President not share in this confidence? Will be rather commit the elective franchise in the States to be reclaimed to the custody of a tithe of the population, whose perjury and tresson are to be washed from their hearts and the blood of their loyal fellow men from their hands country's enemies, and disfranch se, by a bare omission of by the atonement of a "sworn recantation of former un his pen, or an excluding clause of four words, fifty thoudent loses sight of the logic which he himself ters in this connexion when he says: " An attempt ranty and protect a revived State Government, constr ed in whole or in prependerating part from the very elements against whose host:lity and violence it is to be protected, is simply absurd." If this plan of the President is the best which human wisdom can devise to reunite the fragments of our broken Union, then the conclusion of the whole matter is as the President gives it in the closing observations of his Message : "The war power is still our main reliance." JOHN LELLYETT.

CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.

The following intelligence from South and Central America is received by the steamer North Star, arrived at New York from Aspinwall:

WAR BETWEEN ECUADOR AND COLUMBIA. Hostilities have commenced commenced between Ecus dor, without a formal declaration of war. A force of five hundred men sailed in schooners and launches from Guayaquil. Ecuador, and on the 7th instant entered the port Tumaco, taking possession of it without resistance on of Tunneo, taking possession of it without resistance on the part of the small garrison left there by Gen. Mosquero. Gen Flores, at the head of seven thousand men, had also assumed the offensive. He has crossed the frontier in New Gransda, and at last accounts was at Tuqueres, and within a short distance of General Mosquera's com mand. General Flores, on reaching this point, sent a nessenger to Gen. Mosquera, informing him that if he did not at once agree to signing a treaty of peace he would be attacked. The probabilities were that the proposition would be summarily rejected by Mosquera, and in conse quence a battle was expected to take place near the point at which Plores was encamped. Mosquera is reported to be shooting, without trial, any and every person whom he suspects of being opposed to his policy. Quite a number among the conservatives of Pasto have already suffered through their opposition to the war. Private advices

state that his army is being largely and rapidly recruited GUATEMALA AND SALVADOR.

The escape of Gen. Barrios caused much excitement and a strong feeling against the English and United States Governments for having assisted him, so much so that Mr Partridge and the English Consul had been threatened with arrest, and threats were also uttered sasinst the life of Mr s Livingstone, the wife of our Consul at La Union, for her admirable conduct in saving the lives of General Barrios and Col Lazala. Every thing is quiet in Salvador. San Francisco Duenas, the acting President, appears to be giving satisfaction to his party. On the 15th of November Gen. Carrera and his army, took their departure from San Salvador for Gustemula. The operation of from San Salvad r for Gustanaia. The operation of repairing and rebuilding the houses destroyed and injured shot and shell is being pushed forward with alacrity, and it will be but a short time before all traces of the combardment, excepting those in the cemeseries, w siped out. It was found becessary to arm the Indian and incite them to active hostilities against Birrios; and, since the liberal party has been defeeted, they have continued to give trouble, especially in Cojutepeque. It was found necessary for the new President, accompanied by ome of his Ministers and clergy, to proceed to that di rict and disarm them, after they had been pacified through

COAL PROSPECTS.

It is a great relief to observe the indications that are ow apparent of a decline in the price of coal, which has been threatening to overseach the ability of the poorer classes to purchase. The recent sales of the Delaware. Lackawanna and Western Company in New York, which is some measure influence the market, have shown a very lecided tendency toward lower prices, and the coal prodecided tendency board over prices, and the coat pro-ducers at the mines, as well as the railway companies which transport this fuel to the seaboard, it is to be hoped, have at last awakened to the fact that the imposition of exhorbitant rates will endanger if not destroy their business. The Migers' Journal acknowledges a further decline of fly cents per ten at the miner within the space of a week, of withstanding the scale ty of laborers and the strike and hospension of work at some of the collieries. All these are encouraging symptoms, which give grounds to the belief that coal has reached its highest point, and the winter being now so far advance! It is highly probable that the price has already commenced an important decline.

The War Department has requied to accept Ger. T. F.